# An Inquisitive Approach to Interrogative Inquiry

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Interrogative Model of Inquiry Workshop

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# Goals and Motivations

### Goals

• To investigate interrogative inquiry in conversations.

- Socratic dialogues,
- Rational agency.
- To build on inquisitive semantics and pragmatics.

 $\Rightarrow$  Investigation of the Language-Game of Interrogative Inquiry.

### Motivations

- Inquisitive semantics offers:
  - A representation of embedded questions,
  - A semantic categorization of questions and assertions,
  - A precise notion of complete and partial answerhood.
- Inquisitive pragmatics offers:
  - An account of the behavior of questions and answers in conversations.

## 1 The Inquisitive Modelling of Questions and Answers

- 2 Interrogative Rule
- 3 Interrogative Protocol, Inquiry and Consequence
- 4 Logical Aspects
- **5** Computational Aspects
- 6 Strategic Aspects of Inquiry: The Algorithmic View

## 1 The Inquisitive Modelling of Questions and Answers

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### Definition (Language $\mathcal{L}$ )

$$\varphi ::= p \mid \neg \varphi \mid \varphi \lor \psi \mid \varphi \land \psi \mid \varphi \to \psi \quad \text{ with } p \in \mathcal{P}$$

### Definition (index and state)

- An index v is a binary valuation  $v : \mathcal{P} \to \{0, 1\}$ ,
- A state is a non-empty set of indices.

### Definition (Support)

• 
$$s \models p$$
 iff  $\forall v \in s : v(p) = 1$ 

• 
$$s \models \neg \varphi$$
 iff  $\forall t \subseteq s$ : not  $t \models \varphi$ 

• 
$$s \models \varphi \lor \psi$$
 iff  $s \models \varphi$  or  $s \models \psi$ 

• 
$$\pmb{s} \models \varphi \land \psi$$
 iff  $\pmb{s} \models \varphi$  and  $\pmb{s} \models \psi$ 

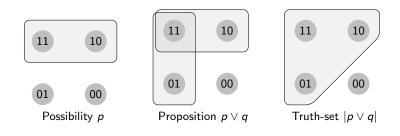
•  $s \models \varphi \rightarrow \psi$  iff  $\forall t \subseteq s$ : if  $t \models \varphi$  then  $t \models \psi$ 

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## Inquisitive Semantics: Basic Notions

#### Definition (Possibility, Proposition and Truth Set)

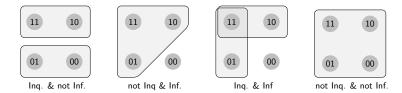
- A possibility for  $\varphi$  in s is a max. substate of s supporting  $\varphi$ .
- The proposition expressed by φ in s, denoted by s[φ], is the set of possibilities for φ in s.
- The truth set of φ in s, denoted by s|φ|, is the set of indices in s where φ is classically true.



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#### Definition (Informativeness and Inquisitiveness)

- $\varphi$  is inquisitive in s iff  $s[\varphi]$  contains at least two possibilities.
- $\varphi$  is informative in s iff  $s[\varphi]$  contains at least one possibility and  $\bigcup s[\varphi] \subset s$ .



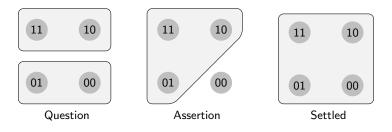
# Inquisitive Semantics: Question and Assertion

#### Definition (Question and Assertion)

- $\varphi$  is a question in s iff  $\varphi$  is inquisitive and not informative in s.
- $\varphi$  is an assertion in s iff  $\varphi$  is not inquisitive and informative in s.

Definition (Settledness)

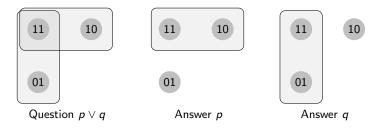
• We say that  $\varphi$  is settled in s iff  $s[\varphi] = \{s\}$ .



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#### Definition (Answerhood)

- φ is an answer to ψ in s iff s|φ| coincides with the union of a set of possibilities for ψ in s and φ is informative in s.
- φ is a complete answer to ψ in s iff s|φ| coincides with one of the possibilities for ψ in s.
- φ is a partial answer to ψ in s iff φ is an answer but not a complete answer to ψ in s.



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## The Inquisitive Modelling of Questions and Answers

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# The Notion of Interrogative Rule

When we are recording the successive steps of interrogative inquiry on paper, logical inference steps and interrogative steps look rather similar. The former are steps from a premise to a conclusion; the latter are steps from the presupposition(s) of a question to its answer. [Hintikka, Socratic Epistemology, p. 71]

### Splitting the Interrogative Rule into Two Components

A pragmatic rule for **answering**: which governs the **production of answers** to questions given (i) the informational state of the answerer and (ii) the common ground of the conversation.

A pragmatic rule for **updating**: which governs the way the conversation, i.e., the common ground and the informational states of the participants, is **updated** after the reception of an answer to a question.

# The Language-Game of Interrogative Inquiry

#### **Basic Rules**

- We designate one of the participants as the inquirer and the other participants as the oracles,
- Each interrogative step takes the form of a **question asked by the inquirer** and (eventually) answered by the oracles or the inquirer,
- Each question asked by the inquirer is directed towards a particular conversational participant.

#### Definition (Conversational state)

A conversational state C is a S-tuple  $C = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \dots, \tau_{O_n})$  s.t.:

- $\sigma$  denotes the common ground of the conversation,
- $\tau_I$  denotes the informational state of the inquirer,
- $\tau_{O_1}, \ldots, \tau_{O_n}$  denote the informational states of the oracles,

such that: (1)  $\tau_1, \tau_{O_1}, \ldots, \tau_{O_n} \subseteq \sigma$  and (2)  $\left(\bigcap_{1 \leq i \leq n} \tau_{O_i}\right) \cap \tau_i \neq \emptyset$ .

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# Conversational State

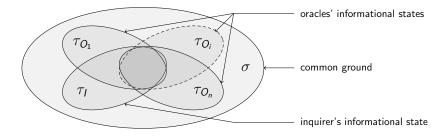


Figure: A conversational state  $C = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \dots, \tau_{O_n})$ .

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# Pragmatic Rule(s) for Answering

### Definition (Answer)

Let  $\varphi, \psi \in \mathcal{L}$  and  $\sigma, \tau \in S$  such that  $\tau \subseteq \sigma, \psi$  is a question and  $\varphi$  an assertion in  $\sigma$ . We say that  $\varphi$  is an answer to  $\psi$  for  $\tau$  in  $\sigma$  if:

- $\varphi$  is an answer to  $\psi$  in  $\sigma$ ,
- $\tau |\varphi| = \tau$ .

 $\varphi \in \mathsf{Answers}(\psi, \tau, \sigma) \Leftrightarrow \varphi$  is an answer to  $\psi$  for  $\tau$  in  $\sigma$ 

### Definition (Answering rule)

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \mathcal{A} & : & \psi, \tau, \sigma & \longmapsto & \mathcal{A}(\psi, \tau, \sigma) \\ & & \mathcal{L} \times \mathcal{S} \times \mathcal{S} & \longrightarrow & \mathcal{L} \end{array}$$

with  $A(\psi, \tau, \sigma)$  defined for all  $(\psi, \tau, \sigma)$  s.t.  $\psi$  is a question in  $\sigma$  by

$$A(\psi, \tau, \sigma) = \begin{cases} \varphi \in \mathsf{Answers}(\psi, \tau, \sigma) & \text{if } \mathsf{Answers}(\psi, \tau, \sigma) \neq \emptyset, \\ \top & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

### Definition (Updating rule)

The updating rule is a partial function

where  $C|\varphi$  is defined for all  $(C, \varphi)$  such that  $s|\varphi| \neq \emptyset$ , with

• 
$$s := \left(\bigcap_{1 \le i \le n} \tau_{O_i}\right) \cap \tau_I$$
,  
•  $C = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \dots, \tau_{O_n})$ ,

by

$$C|\varphi = (\sigma|\varphi, \tau_I|\varphi, \tau_{O_1}|\varphi, \ldots, \tau_{O_n}|\varphi),$$

with  $t|\varphi = t|\varphi|$  for  $t \in S$ .

### Definition (Interrogative rule)

- Let  $n \in \mathbb{N}$  representing the number of oracles,
- Let A be an answering rule.

The interrogative rule associated to A and n is a partial function

where  $C|_i^2\psi$  is defined for all  $(C, \psi, i)$  s.t.  $\psi$  is a question in  $\sigma$  by

$$C|_i^{?}\psi = C|A(\psi, \tau_i, \sigma) = U(C, A(\psi, \tau_i, \sigma)).$$

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- Let  $n \in \mathbb{N}$  be the number of oracles,
- Let  $C \in C^n$  be the starting conversational state,
- Let *I<sub>n</sub>* be an interrogative rule.

The interrogative protocol  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  based on C and  $I_n$  is defined as a tree built as follows:

**Root:** the root of the tree is C,

- for each formula  $\varphi$  s.t.  $\varphi$  is a question in  $\sigma$ ,
- For each  $i \in [0, n]$ ,
- $\Rightarrow$  C' has a successor C'|<sup>?</sup><sub>i</sub> $\varphi = I_n(C', \varphi, i)$ .

## Interrogative Protocol

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**Expanding rule:** if  $C' = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \dots, \tau_{O_n})$  is a node of the tree, then

• for each formula  $\varphi$  s.t.  $\varphi$  is a question in  $\sigma$ ,

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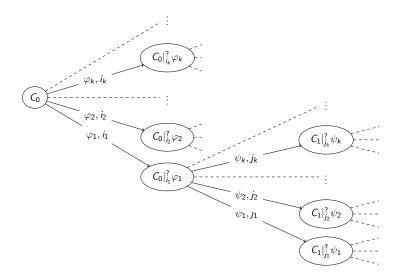
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## Interrogative Protocol



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### Definition (Interrogative inquiry)

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol.

An interrogative inquiry in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  is a finite sequence

 $\langle (\varphi_1, i_1), \ldots, (\varphi_k, i_k) \rangle_k$ 

of elements in  $\mathcal{L} \times [0, n]$  which corresponds to the labels of a finite branch in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  from the root C.

### This definition fits:

- The intuitive representation of interrogative inquiries as **sequences** of **directed questions**.
- The intuitive idea that interrogative inquiries take place in a particular **temporal process** governs by certain rules.

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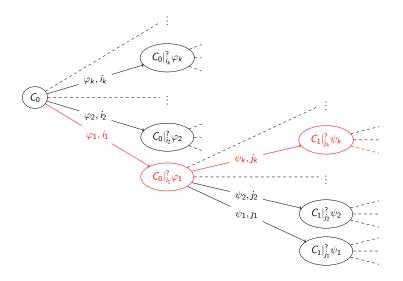
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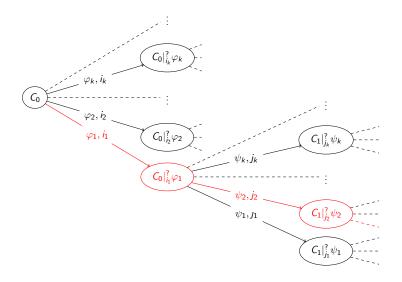
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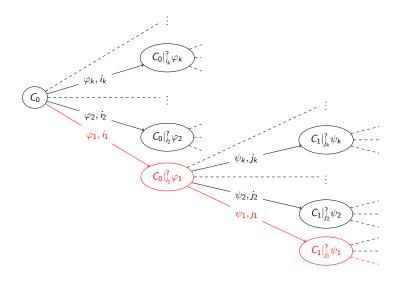
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# Interrogative Consequence

### The Intuitive Idea

 $\varphi$  is an interrogative consequence in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  if there exists an interrogative inquiry in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  leading to a conversational state in which  $\varphi$  has been established in the common ground.

#### Established': Inquisitive and Classical Views

- We say that  $\varphi$  has been classically established in the common ground  $\sigma$  when  $\sigma |\varphi| = \sigma$ ,
- We say that φ has been inquisitively established in the common ground σ when σ[φ] = {σ}.

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## Illustrative Example: Stating the Ground

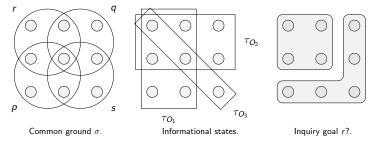


Figure: Conversation state  $C = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \tau_{O_2}, \tau_{O_3})$  and inquiry goal r?.

Inquiry 1	Inquiry 2	Inquiry 3
O <sub>3</sub> : r?	$O_2: s \rightarrow q?$	$O_2: p \land \neg q \to r?$
$O_1: p \lor q \lor r \lor s$	$O_3: p \rightarrow s?$	$O_1: p?$
$O_2: p \lor r$	$O_1: q \rightarrow r?$	$O_3$ : $\neg q$ ?

Table: Three examples of interrogative inquiries in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$ .

# Illustrative Example: Inquiry 1

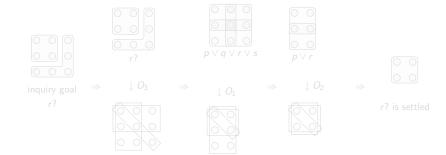


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 1.

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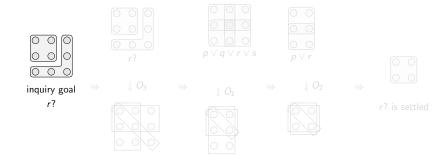


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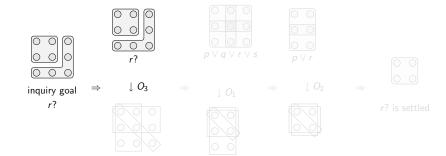


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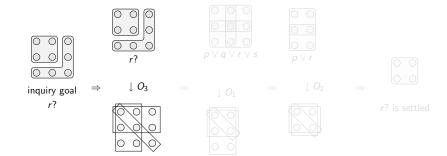


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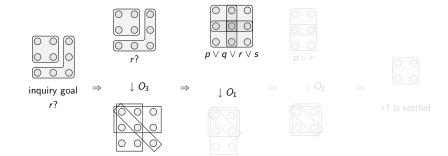


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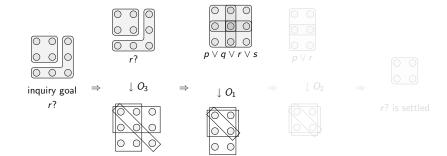


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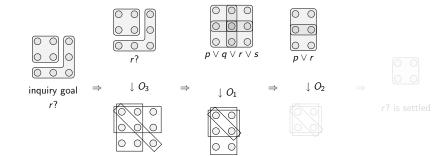


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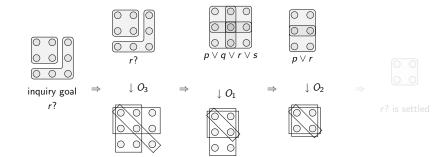


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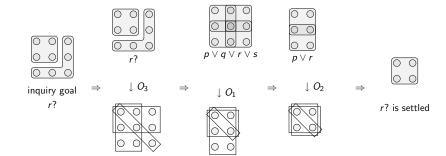


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 1.



Figure: Interrogative inquiry 2.

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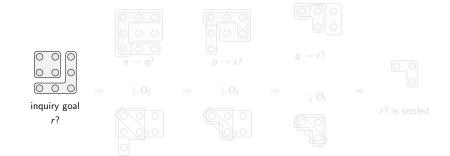


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 2.

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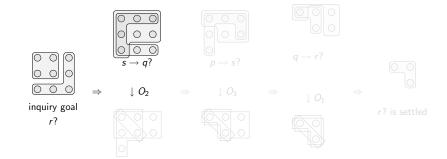


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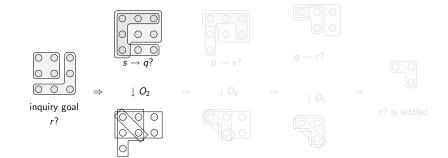


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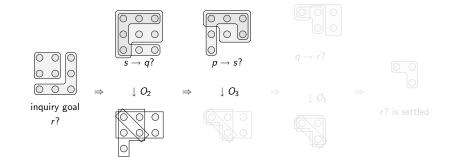


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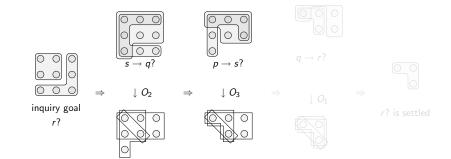


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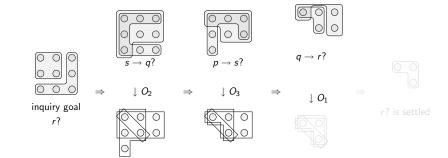


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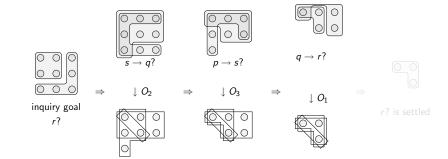


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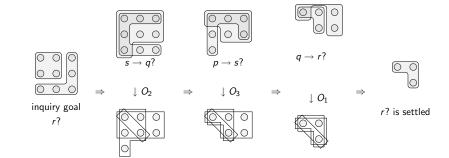


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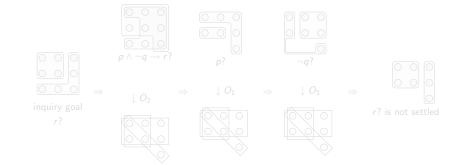


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 3.

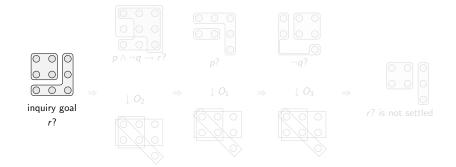


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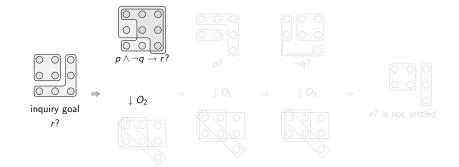


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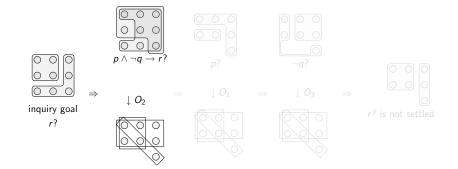


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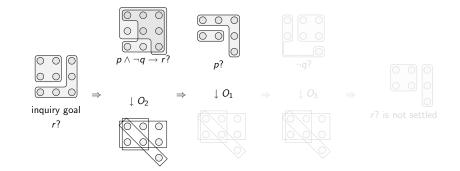


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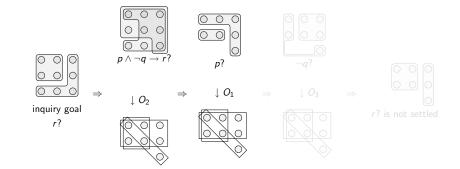


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 3.

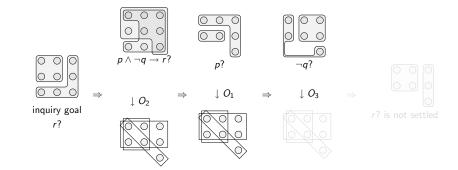


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 3.

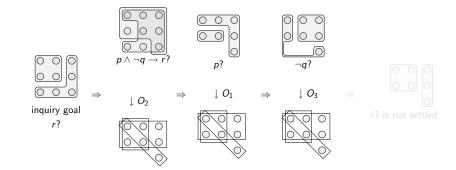


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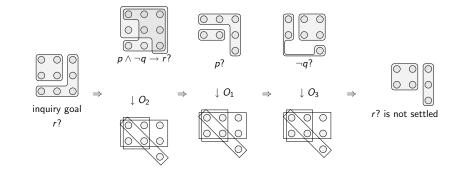


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 3.

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#### Distributed Information in Epistemic Logic

 $\varphi$  is distributed information among a group of agents G iff  $\varphi$  is true in all the worlds that every agent in G considers epistemically possible.

#### Definition (Distributed information)

• The distributed information state D(C) of C is given by

$$D(C) := \bigcap_{1 \le i \le n} \tau_{O_i} \cap \tau_I,$$

• The saturated conversational state  $C_D$  of C is given by

$$C_D := (D(C), \ldots, D(C)),$$

•  $\varphi$  is distributed information in C iff  $\varphi$  is settled in D(C).

#### **Distributed Information**

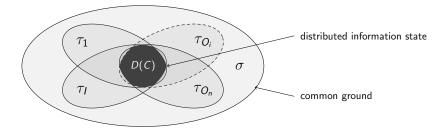


Figure: Common ground and distributed information state.

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# Distributed Information and Interrogative Consequence

Theorem (Interrogative Consequence and Distributed Information)

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol and let  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ .

 $\varphi$  is an interrogative consequence in  $P_?(C, I_n)$ 

 $\varphi$  is distributed information in C

#### Proof

 $\Rightarrow$ . Assume that  $\varphi$  is an interrogative consequence in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$ . By definition, there exists an interrogative inquiry

$$\langle (\varphi_1, i_1), \ldots, (\varphi_k, i_k) \rangle_k$$
 in  $P_?(C, I_n)$ 

leading to a node C' such that  $\sigma'[\varphi] = \{\sigma'\}$ . We show that  $D(C) \subseteq \sigma'$ .

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# **Proof** Continued

#### Proof Continued ( $\Rightarrow$ )

Let  $v \in D(C)$ . Suppose towards a contradiction that  $v \notin \sigma'$ .

- $v \in \sigma$  so the answer  $\chi_p$  to  $\varphi_p$  for some  $p \in [\![1, k]\!]$  has led to the elimination of v,
- $v \in D(C)$  so v is a member of  $\tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \ldots, \tau_{O_n}$ ,

 $\Rightarrow \chi_p$  must have been eliminative in the informational state  $\tau_{i_p}$ , not possible by the definition of the notion of answer, so  $D(C) \subseteq \sigma'$ . Then:

$$D(\mathcal{C}) \subseteq \sigma' \text{ and } \sigma'[\varphi] = \{\sigma'\} \quad \Rightarrow \quad D_{\mathcal{C}}[\varphi] = \{\varphi\}$$

#### Proof Continued ( $\Leftarrow$ )

Assume  $D(C)[\varphi] = \{D(C)\}$ . Consider:

$$\langle (\chi_{\tau_l}?,0), (\chi_{\tau_{O_1}}?,1), \ldots, (\chi_{\tau_{O_n}}?,n) \rangle_{n+1}.$$

# Characteristic Inquiry

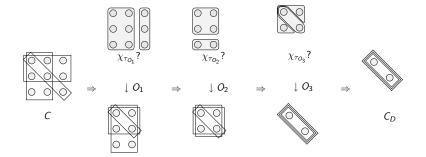


Figure: Characteristic inquiry associated to C from the illustrative example.

#### Theorem (Yes-no Theorem)

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol and  $\varphi \in \mathcal{L}$ .

If  $\varphi$  is an interrogative consequence in  $P_?(C, I_n)$ , then there exists an interrogative inquiry composed exclusively of yes-no questions which settles  $\varphi$ .

#### Proof

Assume  $\varphi$  is an interrogative consequence in  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$ . There exists an interrogative inquiry

 $\langle (\varphi_1, i_1), \dots, (\varphi_k, i_k) \rangle_k$  in  $P_?(C, I_n)$  leading to C' s.t.  $\sigma'[\varphi] = \{\sigma'\}$ 

Let  $\chi_1, \ldots, \chi_k$  be the obtained answers. Then, we claim that

 $\langle (\chi_1?, i_1), \ldots, (\chi_k?, i_k) \rangle_k$  leads to C' in  $P_?(C, I_n)$ .

### Inquiry 1 from the Illustrative Example

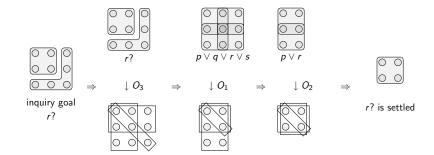


Figure: Interrogative inquiry 1.

## Yes-No Inquiry Associated to Inquiry 1

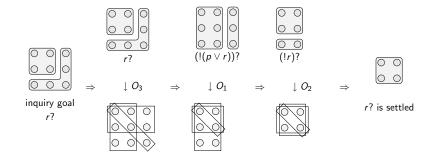


Figure: Yes-no inquiry associated to interrogative inquiry 1.

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# Towards a Computational Model of Interrogative Inquiry

#### Computational Model

- The computational unit is a question-answer step,
- The inquirer has at his disposal his own informational state and the composition of the common ground.
- ⇒ Focus on Time Complexity.

#### Computational Parameters in $P_{?}(C, I_n)$

- The number of oracles *n*,
- The number of indices in inquirer's informational state:  $| au_I|$ ,
- The number of indices of the common ground:  $|\sigma|$ ,
- The complexity of the inquiry goal  $\psi$  in  $\sigma$  to be settled,
- The pragmatic rules for answering and updating adopted in *I<sub>n</sub>*,
- The cardinality of the set of atomic variables  $\mathcal{P}$ .

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## Definition (Scan algorithm)

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_{n})$  be an interrogative protocol. For each  $v \in \sigma$ , where  $\sigma$  refers to the current common ground, the inquirer successively asks the characteristic question  $\chi_{v}$ ? to each conversational participant.

## Proposition

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol. The output of the scan algorithm is the saturated conversational state  $C_D$ .

### Theorem (Upper bound)

Let 
$$P_{?}(C, I_n)$$
 with  $C = (\sigma, \tau_I, \tau_{O_1}, \ldots, \tau_{O_n})$ . We have:

$$\mathsf{T}_{\mathit{scan}}(\mathcal{C}) \leq n \cdot | au_I| + 1 \leq n \cdot |\sigma| + 1 \leq n \cdot 2^{|\mathcal{P}|} + 1.$$

## Definition (The all-in-all algorithm)

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol. For successively each conversational participant, the inquirer addresses to the considered participant the question

 $\bigvee_{\mathbf{v}\in\sigma}\chi_{\mathbf{v}}$ 

where  $\sigma$  denotes the current common ground and  $\chi_v$  denotes the characteristic proposition of the index v.

### Proposition

Let  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$  be an interrogative protocol such that  $I_n$  is based on a MaxIA answering rule. The all-in-all algorithm outputs the saturated conversational state  $C_D$  of C in at most n + 1 steps:

$$\mathsf{T}_{all}(C) \leq n+1.$$

# The all-in-all Algorithm in Action

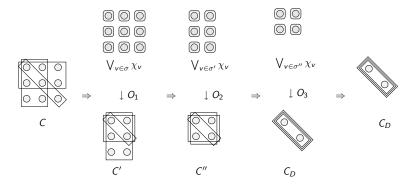


Figure: The all-in-all algorithm applied to the illustrative example.

# Interrogative Inquiry and Computational Complexity

## Definition (Interrogative inquiry decision problem)

INPUT: An interrogative protocol  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$ , a question  $\varphi$  in C and a natural number  $k \in \mathbb{N}$ .

QUESTION: Can  $\varphi$  by settled by the process of interrogative inquiry in less than k steps?

#### Theorem

The Interrogative inquiry decision problem is in NP.

## Definition (Interrogative inquiry optimization problem)

INPUT: An interrogative protocol  $P_{?}(C, I_n)$ , a question  $\varphi$  in C and a natural number  $k \in \mathbb{N}$ .

TASK: Find an interrogative inquiry settling  $\varphi$  which minimizes the number of inquiry steps.

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6 Strategic Aspects of Inquiry: The Algorithmic View

Another main requirement that can be addressed to the interrogative approach—and indeed to the theory of any goal-directed activity—is that it must do justice to the strategic aspects of inquiry. Among other things, it ought to be possible to distinguish the definitory rules of the activity in question from its strategic rules. The former spell out what is possible at each stage of the process. The latter express what actions are better and worse for the purpose of reaching the goals of the activity. [Hintikka, Socratic Epistemology, p. 19]

# Two Views on the Strategic Aspects of Inquiry

## Definitory and Strategic Rules

- **Definitory Rules:** Tell what are the questions that the inquirer is allowed to ask.
- **Strategic Rules:** Tell what are the best questions to ask in order for the inquirer to reach his inquiry goal.

## The Game-Theoretic View

When interrogative inquiry is formalized as a game, the strategic aspects of inquiry can be investigated using the **game-theoretic** notion of strategy.

## The Algorithmic View

When interrogative inquiry is formalized through interrogative protocols, the strategic aspects of inquiry can be investigated using the **computational** notion of algorithmic method.

# Strategic Aspects of Inquiry and Research Strategies

One of the most attractive features of my model of scientific inquiry is that it enables us to use game-theoretical concepts and methods. [...] Game theory is the best available general tool for considerations of strategy. This should make my model especially attractive for the purpose of studying such dynamics of science as are manifested in sequences of choices by a scientist, as distinguished from, e.g., a one-shot choice of a hypothesis on the basis of evidence. Along the same lines, we can also hope to cash in on one of the favorite metaphors of recent theorists of science, the idea of research strategy. The study of research strategies can now in principle be subsumed under the study of strategies in general.

[Hintikka, 'On the logic of an interrogative model of scientific inquiry', p. 81]

# Strategic Aspects of Inquiry and Pragmatics

In past studies of various kinds of dialogues, philosophers and linguists have typically formulated their concepts and theses in a way that, in terms of my model, apply to individual moves in the interrogative "game", corresponding to particular utterances in a dialogue or discourse. Examples are provided by speech-act theories, whose very name betrays their conceptual focus; and Grice's conversational maxims. There is a sense in which no such theory focusing on particular "moves" can be fully satisfactory, for from game theory we know that no values ("utilities") can in the last analysis be assigned to individual moves in the game, only to (complete) strategies. In other words, there is no theoretically satisfactory way of relating particular moves to the general ends of the dialogue in question, in the case of my model, to the ends of inquiry. [Hinikka, 'A spectrum of logics of questioning', p. 137]

Characterizes the question-answer steps that the inquirer can make by integrating **pragmatic rules for answering** and **updating**.

#### Interrogative Protocol

Governs interrogative inquiry as a temporal process and takes as parameters a **conversation state** C and an **interrogative rule**  $I_n$ .

#### Interrogative Inquiry

Refers to a finite sequence of directed questions in a given interrogative protocol.

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## First-Order Case

To develop a formalization of interrogative inquiry based on first-order inquisitive semantics.

## Interrogative Inquiry about Higher-Order Information

To develop a formalization of interrogative inquiry based on inquisitive dynamic epistemic logic.

### Introducing Deduction into the Picture

To represent both questions and inferences in interrogative inquiry.

Computational Approach to Interrogative Inquiry

To investigate the computational aspects of interrogative inquiry.

The Social Dimension of Interrogative Inquiry

To account for the multi-agent dimension of interrogative inquiry.

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